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PROCEEDINGS.

TENTH SESSION.

The Tenth Scientific Session of the Academy was held in Philadelphia, on Tuesday, the 24th of November, 1891, at 1520 Chestnut Street, at 8 P. M. The following papers and communications were announced as having been submitted to the Academy since its last meeting :

49. By James Harvey Robinson, of the University of Pennsylvania: The German Bundesrath. This paper was withdrawn, and has appeared among the publications of the University of Pennsylvania. (Political Economy and Public Law Series, Vol. III, No. 1.)

50. By George D. Holt: The Relation of Charity Organization to Social Problems.

51. By D. G. Ritchie, of the University of Oxford, England: The Teaching of Political Science at Oxford. Printed in the ANNALS, July, 1891.

52. By Takekuma Okada: Taxation in Japan.

53. By Leo S. Rowe: The Congress of the Learned Societies at Paris. Printed in the ANNALS, September, 1891; also a note, (54) "Les Magasins du Louvre,"

55. By S. S. Cooper, of Philadelphia: Crimes of the State and Abuses of Police Power.

56. By Professor E. P. Cheyney, of the University of Pennsylvania: Recent Tendencies in the Reform of Land Tenure. Printed in the ANNALS, November, 1891.

57. By J. Müller: Slow Climatic Effects on the Country and Inhabitants of Northern Europe.

58. By Francis B. Lee, New Jersey: Constitution of Belgium. Translation and Introduction.

59. By Leo S. Rowe: Instruction in French Universities. Printed in the current number of the ANNALS.

60. By Jane M. Slocum: Letter on Instruction in Secondary Schools.

61. By Bernard Moses, of the University of California: Constitution of Colombia, with Antecedents.

62. By A. D. P. Van Buren, of Michigan: James Otis.

63. By T. B. Veblen, Ithaca, N. Y.: Some Neglected Points in the Theory of Socialism. Printed in the ANNALS, November, 1891.

64. By George H. Opdyke: The Nature of Wages, with Especial Reference to the Relations between Wages and Profits.

65. By Wellford Addis, Bureau of Education, Washington, D. C.: The Crisis in Secondary Instruction in France.

66. By A. D. Morse, of Amherst College: The Place of Party in the Political System. Printed in the ANNALS, November, 1891.

67. By Rev. Charles W. Duffield, of Ware, Mass.: Belamy Once More, or the Nationalist Movement.

68. By Lewis W. Wells, of New Jersey: Notes on Piece Work.

69. By Titus Salter Emery, of Philadelphia: Oppressive Taxation and the Remedy.

The subject of the evening's discussion was "How to Improve City Government; The Objects and Methods of the Philadelphia Municipal League."

Papers were read by Mr. F. P. Prichard on "The Study of Municipal Government;"* by Mr. Lincoln L. Eyre on "The Relation of the National Party to Municipal Government;" and by Mr. William Draper Lewis on "The Political Organization of a Modern Municipality."*

After the papers had been read, the president invited a free discussion by those present of the topics which had been treated. The audience showed a remarkable interest in the subject of the evening, and a large number were ready to express their views.

* Printed in full in the current number of the ANNALS.

Prof. H. Willis of the Central High School, was the first to respond. He pointed out that there was a tendency to return to the Greek meaning of the word "Politics," which referred to the management of the affairs of the *Polis*, that is, of the community or city. The increasing interest in the study of political science he deemed a most hopeful sign, as the real root of the matter was education. The problems of finance and administration that the ordinary office-holder is required to solve could, he thought, almost be taught in the grammar school, being no more complicated than parts of arithmetic and grammar.

Prof. Giddings, of Bryn Mawr, declared himself in hearty opposition to what had been urged in favor of a divorce of city from state and federal politics. "We ought to recognize the fact that we, in America, have developed a political life of our own; that we have a definite political basis. We ought to find out what that basis is and adjust ourselves to it.

"That basis in this country is party, and party only. The reason why we have no good municipal government is simply and solely that while we have let parties run our municipal government, we have never made them *responsible*. Instead of doing this we have kept saying, 'It is all very well for the parties to conduct the national government and the state government, but really they ought not to meddle or have anything to do with the city governments, and there is, therefore, no sort of way of holding them responsible for those governments.' If we want good government, we must recognize the fact that parties will govern, and make it a part of the duty of the political party to have a definite municipal policy as well as a definite state policy and a definite national policy, and then vote in accordance with those policies as we choose.

"Now, why have we no responsible party in municipal affairs? Why is it that a party has a national policy and a state policy which we would choose between as voters, but that a party never has a municipal policy? Simply because

the parties, and the citizens who form parties, are never permitted in this country to govern a municipality. There is not a municipality in this country that governs itself. It pretends to govern itself, but how? By making petty by-laws under the provisions of a perfect mountain of state statutes all the time being revised by the state legislature. The politicians come to your state capital, and there they frame all sorts of schemes, get them carefully drawn up in the statute laws and then, forsooth, if you choose, you may play at politics in your municipal affairs ; but you have no real politics, and, of course, no real party.

“ If you are ever to have good municipal government in this country, ladies and gentlemen, you must get over being humbugged by all these new devices for a form of municipal government that are not in accordance with American ideas and American ways of doing things. You will make your parties responsible for municipal government, as for all other forms of government, you must then give them power to do what they assume the responsibility for, and hold them to that responsibility.”

Mr. Thomas H. Dudley, ex-United States Consul at Liverpool, said he agreed in the main with the sentiments expressed by Prof. Giddings. He thought that we were destined to have parties as long as the Republic lasted and that these parties would generally control the municipalities. The speaker believed that in one-half of the municipalities the Republican institutions had proved a failure. This was to be attributed in large part to the introduction of large masses of uneducated foreigners. Mr. Dudley dwelt at some length on the present abuses. The remedy he believed to lie in the direction of greater activity on the part of the more intelligent classes. The parties could not be dispensed with, but should be educated, not spasmodically, when things reached a state no longer bearable, but systematically. The organization of leagues and committees was not to be discouraged, but after those committees had done all they could, the government fell back into the hands of the politicians and of the

existing parties. He could see no remedy but that of attending the primaries and electing, or trying to elect, better men. "I would not," he said in closing, "discourage the efforts of the leagues or those of the committees of citizens. Let them do all they can. But we must recognize the fact that municipal government will continue to be in the hands of the politicians, as it always has been."

Mr. Rudolph Blankenburg urged that we were often led astray by a devotion to parties which had lost their significance. He endorsed the plea of Prof. Willis, that the science of government ought to be taught in the schools. "The Constitution is explained, and the science of government in many ways is explained; but, Mr. Chairman, there is something that is not done in our public schools that is needed, because it is the children of to-day who will be the men and women of to-morrow. Let us teach them the *morality* of government, and I see the time when the second father of this country will be called, who shall write a text book on the morality of politics. Let us commence right with our children; let us commence right, and there will be very little difficulty or trouble in the future."

Assistant Postmaster Benjamin J. Hughes said: "I am one of those who have always heretofore seen what I have believed to be my duty in acting with one of the political parties. I trust, however, that I may never be so clouded with prejudice as to reject a proposition merely because it is new."

Prof. Giddings, to be consistent with his ideas, would, he thought, be in a very serious dilemma if the political party to which he belongs should adopt a policy in national affairs in which he believed and a policy in municipal affairs which he could not conscientiously support. If he voted with his national party, he must vote against his convictions. If he voted against his national party in municipal affairs he must vote against his political convictions in national affairs. "The proposition which we have to-night before us is undoubtedly a legitimate proposition, that there may be a

political party confining itself to national issues, that there may be in every city political parties representing the division of sentiment with regard to the political issues of that city. There may be two political parties, or more, if you please, in every city confining their attention absolutely to questions affecting the municipal government. That that is possible, no man who stops to reason for an instant will deny. That it may be good, I do not deny. That it is certain to be good, I am not convinced."

The argument for the expediency of a divorce of local and state politics, Mr. Hughes did not consider conclusive. "I do not believe," he said, "that it is impossible that a party may do well in national affairs, that it may do well in state affairs, and that it may do well in city affairs. I think the question always will be whether the people belonging to it do well when organized and operating for any one of those parties. The theory advocated has been at least partially tried in this country and without success. The city of Washington has a municipal government in which the political organizations were absolutely dissevered from national affairs, where the people of the District of Columbia could vote upon no question except questions pertaining to the government of that district, which was primarily, of course, the city of Washington. They had no vote on any state questions, no vote upon any national question, and it was almost impossible, whatever names they may have organized themselves under, for them to organize a political party for anything except municipal purposes. And yet, despite the theory of our friends, the government of the city of Washington became so corrupt that it had to be taken away from them. Whether a municipal party will give us better government for a city than existing parties do give us, in my judgment, will depend in very large measure upon whether the people of that city are more patriotic than the average of the political organization. That, for instance, the people of Pennsylvania are not of better average morality and patriot-

ism than the average of the people of the city of Philadelphia, I am not quite certain. The necessity of at least paying some decent respect to the morality of the rest of the state may be to some extent a restraint upon bad government in our city. If you can give me a city composed of citizens like those that are gathered here, patriotic men and women who will love their city, and who will vote always for its highest interest, then let us separate municipal politics from national or from state politics. The real evil, in my judgment, is far deeper than the question of political organization. The real thing which we must get over, if we want pure government in our municipalities, is the curse of the spoils system."

Mr. C. Oscar Beasley expressed the wish, as a Councilman of Philadelphia, "to get on the witness stand and testify." No one, he claimed, appeared to realize the magnitude of the subject under discussion. He illustrated his point by the statement that, while the State of Pennsylvania had made appropriations of \$20,000,000 during the past year, the city of Philadelphia had disbursed no less than \$21,000,000. The evils of municipal government in some of our great cities he attributed to the overwhelming preponderance of a single party. To reduce this majority was the first step towards reform. Secondly, an absolute independence in voting on city affairs was necessary. "We must have parties, but not devoted to the same objects. Divide the objects of your parties, but you must keep your organization." Referring to the government of Philadelphia, the speaker pointed out that the corruption had been conspicuous under the administration of respectable mayors and heads of departments. "The mayor must," he said, "go behind the covers and curtains of his office. You must compel your mayor to dig down into the miry depths beneath, and not allow him to say, 'I do not want to make trouble; I do not want to make things unpleasant.' When you have gotten your municipal government in that condition, when you have reduced your majority, and when you vote independently in politics, we shall then have a progressive city government."